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Annual report of the National Administrative...

London

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No. 1

ANNUAL REPORT

of the

National Administrative Council

to be submitted to the

Annual Conference of the I.L.P., to be held at the Keir Hardie Hall, Derby, April 20th to 23rd, 1935.

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INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY
35 ST. BRIDE STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL OF THE I.L.P

(This Report is a bare record of work done. Policy and Re-organisation are dealt with in separate documents.)

THE I.L.P. has a great record of activity during the past year. Its members have participated in every working class struggle—industrial disputes, the agitation of the unemployed, the campiagn against Fascism and War, the fight against the reactionary "National" Government. They have developed their work in the Trade Union Movement and have joined wherever possible with other sections of the working class in the common struggle. They have carried out street work by the distribution of Socialist literature and the sale of the "New Leader" on a scale never before reached by the Party, and have used the contacts so gained to agitate regarding working class grievances. The three I.L.P. members of Parliament have put up a ceaseless fight in the House of Commons and I.L.P. Councillors have led the militant fight in the municipalities. In the international field the I.L.P. has made a considerable contribution towards Revolutionary Socialist unity. Whilst the Party has much to do before securing a mass following in all parts of the country, it is steadily making itself into an effective instrument of revolutionary agitation and action.

The Policy of the I.L.P.

The activity of members of the I.L.P. in the workers' struggle has been accompanied by keen discussion on questions of policy. In accordance with the interim recommendations of the Re-organisation Commission, as endorsed by the N.A.C., Divisional Councils were asked to submit Policy Statements to the Divisional Conferences and to forward them, as adopted by the Divisional Conferences, to the N.A.C. with a view to consideration prior to the submission of a Policy Statement from the N.A.C. to Annual Conference. Most of the Divisions forwarded Statements. After discussion, the N.A.C. authorised the Inner Executive to draft a Policy Statement and to issue it to Branches on behalf of the N.A.C.

The Parliamentary Group.

On another page the report of the Parliamentary Group will be found (see page 13). The three I.L.P. members have done magnificent service and more than once have been recognised as the real Opposition in the House of Commons. The whole Party membership will associate itself with the N.A.C. in paying tribute to their persistent, courageous and militant activity.

By-Elections.

The I.L.P. contested two by-elections during the year. The results were disappointing. In the Upton Division of West Ham the Party was weak and there had been little I.L.P. activity prior to the election. In the Merthyr Division the issues were complicated by the intervention of a Communist candidate. The figures were :—

Upton Division.		Merthyr Division.	
B. Gardner (Lab.) ...	11,998	S. O. Davies (Lab.) ...	18,645
J. P. Macnamara (Cons.)	8,534	V. Evans (Lib.) ...	10,376
A. F. Brockway (I.L.P.)	748	C. Stephen (I.L.P.) ...	3,508
		W. Hannington (C.P.)	3,409

The General Election.

The N.A.C. is now taking active steps, in conjunction with the Divisional Councils, to prepare for the General Election. Arrangements are being made for special propaganda and organisation in the selected constituencies. So far the following candidatures have been endorsed, subject in certain cases to further consideration with the Divisional Councils :—

Aberdeen North	A. F. McIntosh
Bradford East	F. W. Jowett
Bridgeton	J. Maxton
Camborne	Kate Spurrell
Camlachie	C. Stephen
Chorley	R. Edwards
Derby	S. Leckie
Dunfermline Burghs ...	J. B. Payne
Gorbals	G. Buchanan
Govan	T. Taylor
Kilmarnock	J. Pollock
Lanark	W. Carlin
Lanark North	Jennie Lee
Shettleston	J. McGovern
Stirling E. and Clackmannan	D. Gibson
Tradeston	J. Carmichael
Worcester	A. Eaton

Contests have also been endorsed at Norwich and Merthyr. The candidates have yet to be selected. A considerable number of additional contests are being planned.

The N.A.C. recommends that the present by-election levy of 5/- from each Branch should be applied to the General Election.

Municipal Elections.

Eighty-four candidates were nominated in the municipal elections in November. Of these fourteen were returned. There were six gains and six losses. The most noteworthy success was at Glasgow, where ten candidates were nominated and five elected, with two gains and one loss. The total I.L.P. vote in Glasgow was 36,000. In the Shettleston Division of

Glasgow the I.L.P. now holds all six Council seats in addition to the Parliamentary seat. In the Bridgeton Division the I.L.P. holds four of the six Council seats in addition to the Parliamentary seat. The I.L.P. group in the Glasgow Corporation numbers eleven.

On the eve of the municipal elections the Communist Party proposed a pact with the I.L.P. to prevent conflicting candidatures. It was too late to make a binding national arrangement, but the N.A.C. accepted in principle the desirability of avoiding conflicting candidatures and exerted its influence to this end. I.L.P. and Communist candidates opposed each other in very few instances.

United Activities.

The N.A.C. has done all in its power to further united action by all sections of the working class on immediate issues. It has approached the Labour Party Executive for united action in the following cases :—

Support for Spanish Workers.
Agitation against Unemployment Relief Cuts.
Support for Austrian Workers.

These approaches were rejected. The N.A.C. co-operated with the Council for Civil Liberties in the agitation against the Sedition Bill and, in addition to its common action with the Communist Party, participated in the work of the Congress and March Council, the Movement Against Fascism and War, the Co-ordination Committee, the Women's Committee Against Fascism and War, the Youth Anti-War Movement, the Relief Committee for the Victims of Fascism, the N.U.W.M., May Day Committees, and in meetings in support of the Indian textile stirkers and against the India Bill. S. Leckie represented the I.L.P. as a fraternal delegate at the annual conference of the N.U.W.M. J. Southall represented the Party at the National Peace Congress at Birmingham, and C. Stephen and J. McGovern represent the Party on the General Committee of the forthcoming Congress.

Agitation Against Unemployment Relief Cuts.

The most successful case of united action was the agitation against the Unemployment Relief cuts. Throughout the country the I.L.P. took a leading part. This was specially the case in South Wales (where united committees representing the Labour Party, the Miners' Federation, and other Unions, the I.L.P., the C.P., and other bodies were formed), Glasgow and the West of Scotland, Cumberland and Sheffield. A number of members of the I.L.P. were invited to become members of the Appeal Tribunals under Part II of the Unemployment Act. The N.A.C. issued instructions that such invitations should be declined.

Joint Action with Communist Party.

Following the last Annual Conference representatives of the N.A.C met respresentatives of the Communist Party and reached agreement on common action on specific objects. The two Parties have co-operated in the work of the united committees and agitations mentioned above, and particularly in the agitation against Fascism, War, and the attacks on the unemployed, and in support of the Austrian and Spanish workers. Discussions have proceeded regarding further co-operation. The Chairman of the Party attended the Congress of the Communist Party as a fraternal delegate, and the Communist Party has been invited to send a fraternal delegate to the forthcoming I.L.P. Conference.

International Associations.

The N.A.C. has applied the decisions reached by the last Annual Conference. Immediately following the Conference, the Executive Committee of the Communist International was informed that, although the Conference had rejected the proposal for sympathetic affiliation, the I.L.P. was prepared to consider any proposals for co-operation with the International on common issues. The N.A.C., whilst protesting against the action of the Communist Party in inviting sections of the Party (without reference to the national organisation) to send fraternal delegates to the World Congress of the Communist International, indicated that the I.L.P. is in principle favourable to the acceptance of a fraternal delegation, "because the I.L.P. desires to take every opportunity of furthering the purpose of securing united action, nationally and internationally, by all Revolutionary Socialist organisations."

The N.A.C. has co-operated with the International Bureau of the Independent Revolutionary Socialist Parties and was represented by C. Stephen and A. F. Brockway at the Enlarged Committee which met in Paris in February. Their report appears on pages 13-16. We also print as an appendix the I.L.P. resolution on War adopted by the Enlarged Committee (see pages 16-19).

The N.A.C. welcomed the development of united action between the Socialist and Communist Parties of France, Austria, Italy, and made the proposal that they should take the initiative in calling an international conference to extend united action and revolutionary policy. The letter aroused considerable interest and support in the working class movement in Europe.

The N.A.C. has given all possible assistance to comrades in other countries engaged in the struggle against Fascism and War. In addition to participating in the Committee for the Relief of the Victims of Fascism and War, it has raised funds

for the assistance of the work in Germany, Austria and Spain and to help refugees from those countries. It also co-operated in raising a fund to enable a British lawyer to attend the Berlin trial of 125 members of the German Socialist Workers' Party before the People's Court.

Protests to Ambassadors and Governments have been made in connection with the cases of Thaelmann, Torgler, and the S.W.P. prisoners (Germany), Pena (Spain), Rakosi (Hungary) and Tom Mooney (U.S.A.). The Chairman has also been active in taking up with the Secretary of State for India the cases of Jawaharlal Nehru, M. N. Roy and the Garwhali prisoners. The All India Trade Union Congress invited the I.L.P. to send a fraternal delegate to its meeting this Easter. A fraternal message has been sent.

Literature.

The Party has shown greater activity in the distribution of literature than for many years. A scheme has been operated for the monthly publication and distribution of leaflets and a considerable circulation has been secured. C. A. Smith has acted as editor of the leaflets. The following have been published in connection with this scheme :—

"Crisis Grows."
"The National Government."
"What Fascism and Socialism Mean."
"Workers Unite !"

In addition, the following leaflets have been issued :—

"The Time Has Come for Working Class Unity."
"Your Homes are in Danger" (Sedition Bill).
"What Is This Fascism ?"
"Food Destroyed While Workers Go Hungry."
"An Open Letter to Socialists in the Labour Party."
"A Victory For Unity."

Two pamphlets have been published :—

"Soldiers or Slaves ?" (Sedition Bill).
"The Labour Party and War."

In addition, the Decisions of the Last Annual Conference were published in pamphlet form and a revised edition of the Constitution and Rules was issued.

To provide a free medium for internal Party discussion, the N.A.C. has published "Controversy," a stencilled journal, edited first by T. S. Friedenson and afterwards by R. F. Budden. "Controversy" has not been used by members as fully as was anticipated. Steps are now being taken to publish it in an improved form monthly and to reduce the price from 3d. to 2d. C. A. Smith will be editor.

The N.A.C. has made arrangements with the London and Southern Counties Divisional Council under which the Socialist Bookshop acts as the medium of distribution of Party literature. The Bookshop handles I.L.P. publications without profit and it is the duty of all Branches and members to support it in every way possible.

The "New Leader."

The experience of the year has completely justified the decision to reduce the price of the "New Leader" to one penny and to circulate it through the Party. The circulation is now 12,000 a week higher than when it was sold at twopence and the distribution of the paper through the Party has proved of great organisational benefit. It has created contacts in the homes of the workers which are valuable in building a body of steady support for the Party and in mobilising support for the remedying of working class grievances.

The Party must set before it during the coming year the object of obtaining the circulation of the additional 8,000 copies a week necessary to make the "New Leader" self-supporting. To meet the loss on the paper it has been necessary to start a fighting fund, which has brought in over £500. It will be necessary to maintain this effort until the self-supporting circulation is secured.

The N.A.C. wishes to express its appreciation of the magnificent work which many Branches have done in securing circulation for the "New Leader." Unfortunately, some Branches have failed to maintain their earlier higher level and this has counterbalanced the successes to some extent. The N.A.C. looks forward with confidence to the achievement of a self-supporting circulation before the next Annual Conference.

Annual Conference Procedure.

The N.A.C. considered an interim Report on Annual Conference procedure submitted by the Reorganisation Commission and decided, under the powers given to it by the last Annual Conference, to apply the following changes in procedure to this year's Conference :—

Delegates shall be appointed on the basis of one for each 35 members of a Branch, or part thereof.

N.A.C. shall prepare a series of concrete proposals based on an analysis of events during the past year and of the present situation. This document shall be circulated, be open to amendment, and form the main agenda of the conference. It shall be moved in sections by speeches which give an adequate opening to the discussion.

The Divisional Councils shall be invited to submit to Divisional Conference statements on similar lines, which, after approval by the Divisional Conferences, shall be forwarded to the N.A.C. for consideration.

The number of resolutions for the Agenda from any one Division shall not exceed three.

The Conference shall close at one o'clock on Tuesday, April 23rd.

The Divisional Representatives' Conference shall be held at 2 p.m. on April 23rd.

Reorganisation.

The final Reports of the Re-organisation Commission are published separately. They were received too late for consideration by the N.A.C. It is important that proposals for Party reorganisation shall be thoroughly considered and understood by members and Branches before they are adopted. The Inner Executive therefore recommends that

(a) *A session at Annual Conference shall be devoted to a discussion of these Reports.*

(b) *The Reports shall then be referred to the whole Party for further consideration.*

(c) *The N.A.C. shall prepare recommendations arising from the Reports in the light of the Conference discussion and issue them to Branches.*

(d) *Branches, Federations and Divisional Councils shall be invited to forward amendments to the recommendations of the N.A.C.*

(e) *The N.A.C. shall consider the proposed amendments and shall be authorised to adopt decisions and apply them.*

The Lancashire Division.

Following the last Annual Conference the Lancashire Divisional Council adopted, by a vote of 9 to 2, a resolution declining to accept the decisions of the Conference or the authority of the N.A.C. The N.A.C. accepted this as resignation from the Party and summoned a delegate conference representing Branches in the Division which accepted the Constitution, Rules and Policy of the Party. A new Divisional Council was elected, and the N.A.C. co-operated in a propaganda and organising campaign in the Division. Although the membership fell, the Lancashire I.L.P. under its new Divisional Council and Officers has shown great activity and effective work is being done for revolutionary Socialism. R. Edwards was elected to the N.A.C. in place of E. Sandham.

National Campaign.

A national campaign was conducted in November. Letters were issued to lapsed members and to "Left" sympathisers over the names of the Chairman and Secretary. Considerable publicity was secured in the national and local press for a letter stating the case for the Party. In many parts of the country interest was stimulated and members enrolled.

Industrial Activity.

I.L.P. members have taken an increased part in the industrial struggle. They have been active in industrial disputes and within the Trade Union Movement and Trades Councils have advocated a militant policy. The Welsh, London and South, Midlands and Lancashire Divisional Councils are compiling registers of their Trade Union and Co-operative membership with a view to facilitating common action. A beginning has been made in mobilising support for militant candidates for Trade Union and Co-operative delegations and positions. The industrial activity of the Party requires further national attention and it will be the duty of the N.A.C., following the decisions reached by Annual Conference on Trade Union and Co-operative policy, to make the necessary arrangements.

Dual Unionism.

At the request of the Scottish Divisional Council the N.A.C. appointed a sub-committee to report on the question of Dual Unionism, with special reference to the situation in the Scottish mining industry. The Committee consisted of Jennie Lee, Alex Smillie and Tom Stephenson. Their report, which has been endorsed by the N.A.C., will be found on pages 19-20.

The Guild of Youth.

The I.L.P. Guild of Youth at its Annual Conference decided to affiliate sympathetically with the Young Communist International. The N.A.C. informed the Guild National Committee that such a step was incompatible with the Guild remaining the Youth Section of the I.L.P. and that proposals would be laid before the Annual Conference of the I.L.P. requiring the Youth Section of the Party to carry out the policy of the Party. At a special conference of the Guild it was decided to suspend sympathetic affiliation until the next annual conference of the Guild, but to resist any Constitutional change which limited the political autonomy of the Guild. The N.A.C. has tabled a resolution for Annual Conference proposing changes in the relationship of the I.L.P. and the Guild.

Summer and Christmas Schools.

The I.L.P. Summer School was held at the Monmouthshire Training College, Caerleon, and was attended by 165 students. A Christmas School was also held at Arley Castle, Worcestershire, attended by 31 students. This year's Summer School will be held at St. Christopher School, Letchworth.

Property Disputes.

Certain property disputes arising from the decision of the I.L.P. to disaffiliate from the Labour Party remain unsettled. A case at Hamilton has come before the Scottish Courts. The N.A.C. has formed a sub-committee, consisting of C. Stephen, J. Gaster and F. Johnson to deal with such matters. The Committee has also considered questions relating to property resulting from the withdrawal of members from the I.L.P. in Lancashire.

Public Representatives.

At the last Annual Conference a resolution was adopted prohibiting I.L.P. representatives on local authorities from accepting convenerships or magistracies whilst the I.L.P. remains in a minority on such bodies. The resolution applied to Scotland, and the Chairman gave an undertaking that the N.A.C. would submit a proposal which would have general reference. The N.A.C. accepts the principle that it is right that I.L.P. Councillors should not take responsibility for administering Capitalism. It lays it down that this principle must be accepted by Party members throughout the country. Permission for a Councillor to hold such position could only be granted where there is definite ground for believing that the holder of it could effectively use the position for the better carrying on of the working class struggle, and should be granted only by Divisional Councils on the application of the Branch or Federation in the area affected.

Our Printing Press.

The past year has been a difficult trading year, but an improvement has been made in the turnover which should prove beneficial in future. The turnover amounted to £25,780 and was £1,000 more than last year. A small profit is shown in the trading, but a still greater turnover is necessary for the printing works to be successful. The Directors are taking definite steps to secure this. The average number of people employed by the Works during 1934 was 64, and very little short time was worked. The firm contributed £267 to the Employees' Retiring Fund.

Deaths.

During the last year the I.L.P. has lost a number of devoted members through death. Some of them have been known only

in their own locality. Others have been more widely known. We pay our tribute to them all and pledge ourselves to carry on their work.

J. MAXTON (*Chairman*)
F. W. JOWETT (*Treasurer*)
JENNIE LEE
C. STEPHEN
C. A. SMITH
A. SMILLIE
J. McGOVERN
T. STEPHENSON
P. WILLIAMS
S. LECKIE
G. F. JOHNSON
J. GASTER
KATE SPURRELL
E. B. JAMES
R. EDWARDS
L. POVEY
A. F. BROCKWAY (*Secretary*)

Appendix 1.

PARLIAMENTARY GROUP REPORT

THE I.L.P. Parliamentary Group has taken a very active part in the proceedings of the House of Commons during the year since last Conference.

On every issue of importance to the struggle of the workers, one or other of the three members has stated the point of view of the I.L.P. Important measures affecting the lives of the unemployed and the poorest section of the workers have been placed on the Statute Book : notably the Unemployment Act which set up the Unemployment Insurance Statutory Commission and the Unemployment Assistance Board. To these and to the Regulations subsequently passed by the House of Commons, the Group offered uncompromising resistance.

Poor Law Bills for England and Scotland were also passed, and in the modification of the provisions of the Scottish Bill in particular the Group expended considerable effort. The Incitement to Disaffection Bill, substantially amended, found its way on to the Statute Book, but was opposed throughout by the I.L.P.

The time of the House for several weeks has been absorbed mainly by the proceedings on the India Bill.

The position of the Party for complete Indian Independence has been and is being steadily stated from time to time.

In the more recent weeks attention and interest have been directed acutely to Foreign Affairs and to the question of Re-armament, and these matters have offered opportunity for the presentation of the Socialist and Working Class attitude on the question of war.

Bills to deal with Housing, and in particular the question of overcrowding, are at present in Committee and the three I.L.P. members are actively engaged on the Committee dealing with the Scottish Housing Bill.

In addition to their Parliamentary work, each one of the three members has played a full part in the struggle in the country, on the platform and in the conference room.

Comrade Buchanan continues his work as Chairman of the Pattern-makers' Union, and, representing it, has taken an active part in Engineering Workers' activities.

Comrade McGovern has been particularly active in anti-Fascist and unemployed street demonstrations.

JAMES MAXTON.
Chairman.

Appendix 2.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST UNITY

Enlarged Committee of the Bureau and Consultation with Members of "Left" in the Second International.

THE enlarged committee was attended by representatives of the following parties :—

Britain : I.L.P.

Holland : Independent Socialist Party and Revolutionary Socialist Party.

Germany : Socialist Workers' Party.

Sweden : Socialist Party.

Spain : Communist Federation of Iberia.

Austria : Red Front.

Italy : Socialist Party (Maximilists).

France : Committee for United Action.

Norway : Mot Dag.

Poland : I.L.P.

There were also representatives present from the Paris Bureau of Revolutionary Parties, the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Youth, and the I.L.P. Guild of Youth.

Otto Brandon, who has been acting as Secretary during the imprisonment of Peter Schmidt, gave a report. This was followed by special reports from the Fascist countries.

The first resolution was on the subject of the "World Situation." The resolution was a long survey, and did not raise any controversial issue acutely.

The resolution on policy in relation to war, submitted by the I.L.P., was carried without dissent. On the suggestion of Lewis Povey (who had no vote) the I.L.P. moved an amendment that anti-war agitation should be conducted through the Anti-War Movement, but this only received the support of one other Party. The delegates reported that the Anti-War Movement is not now functioning effectively in other countries.

The issue of a New International was raised by a resolution moved by F. Schmidt on behalf of the Dutch I.S.P. :—

"The Conference declares that, in order to carry on the international struggle, the proletariat has to create a New International."

J. Schwab, on behalf of the German Socialist Workers' Party, moved the following alternative resolution :—

'Recognising the complete failure of the Second and Third Internationals, the Parties mentioned below declare that the international revolutionary working class movement is at present without a real leading body that is trusted by the working class movement, and that therefore it is necessary to create this lead—that means to create a real Proletarian International.

"They declare that the necessary international revolutionary lead can only be created out of an historical process and by collaboration of all the revolutionary elements inside and outside the Internationals. They further declare that this lead can only be based on a renewal of the International Labour Movement.

'To further the creation of an active Proletarian International which can only realise the necessary unity on a revolutionary basis, the parties present decide :—

1) To concentrate all their powers on developing International activities ;
2) To use all possibilities for combining those forces in the international field which are willing to act, and to develop at the same time the International Bureau."

The I.L.P. delegation supported the German resolution, stating to the Committee that we interpreted it as meaning a reconstituted International, including the revolutionary sections of the Second International, the Independent Revolutionary Socialist Parties, and the Communist International.

The discussion showed that the majority of the delegates did not believe in the possibility of reforming the Communist International and were sceptical as to the possibility of bringing it as a unit within a United Revolutionary International. They agreed, however, that the form of a reconstituted International is now a theoretical question and that the important thing is to carry on the revolutionary struggle and make international contacts. From this the United Revolutionary International will grow.

The voting on the two resolutions was as follows :—

(1) **Three** in favour : Dutch I.S.P., Dutch R.S.P. and Youth Bureau.
Three against . I.L.P., Swedish Socialist Party, and Mot Dag (Norway).

Six abstentions : German S.W.P., Polish I.L.P., Austrian R.F., Italian S.P., Spanish C.F., French C.U.A.

According to the Continental practice, this result was regarded as having the effect of the adoption of a "previous question" motion in Britain.

The voting on the German S.W.P. resolution was as follows :—

Ten in favour : British I.L.P., German S.W.P., Polish I.L.P., Spanish C.F., Austrian R.F., Youth Bureau, Italian S.P., French C.U.A., Norwegian M.D., Swedish S.P.

One against : Dutch R.S.P.

One abstention : Dutch I.S.P.

The Committee discussed organisational matters connected with the Bureau. Peter Schmidt indicated that the I.S.P. might wish him to give up the secretaryship in view of the decision on the New International. It was agreed to reapooint him and to leave the matter in the hands of the Bureau. It was agreed to ask the associated Parties to contribute affiliation fees of £10, £5 and £2 according to their strength.

It was agreed that a small charge to cover costs should be made in future for the Information Bulletin and that the Bureau should consider the practicability of publishing a monthly theoretical magazine in German, French, Spanish and English.

The Committee considered a statement of principles for the International Bureau and a resolution on united working class action. It was agreed to refer these to the Bureau and to distribute them to the affiliated Parties for amendment and decision.

Consultation with Second International "Lefts."

When the I.L.P. took the initiative in proposing a discussion with members of the "Left" sections in the Second International, we anticipated an informal gathering of about 20 in a small room. In fact, the consultation took place in the large Town Hall of St. Denis and 200 persons were present. The decision of the Bureau had been that in addition to its members, one representative from each Party should attend, but it was found impossible to implement this decision. The conference consequently lost some of its value as an informal and intimate discussion.

"Left" sections in the French, Belgian, British and Polish (Socialist Party and the Bund) Parties were represented. The French delegation included two members of the Executive, Zyromsky and Pivert, and the Belgian delegation one member of the T.U.C. Council. The Socialist League sent D. Elvin and Mrs. Borrett as observers.

The actual decisions of the conference were :—

(1) To urge our respective organisations to arouse support for the Belgian workers in their immediate struggle.

(2) To circulate to the Parties and Groups represented the proposals for action against war adopted by the Enlarged Committee of the Independent Parties, together with concrete suggestions made in a resolution brought before the conference by the German S.W.P. It is hoped that where united action for these proposals is not possible, the organisations and groups will advocate a policy along these lines in their respective Parties, so that even if organisational barriers remain we may all be pressing forward a common policy.

(3) It was agreed to appoint a small committee consisting of German, Spanish and French representatives to act in conjunction with the Anti-War League within the Belgian Labour Party and the

International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity for the purpose of intensifying international action against war, distributing anti-war information, etc.

(4) It was agreed to send a telegram to the President of Spain urging that the sentence of execution upon M. Pena should not be carried out, and to ask the separate organisations to do this.

(5) It was agreed to ask the various organisations and groups which had met for this informal international discussion to extend the discussion in an informal way to their own countries, with a view to a common policy being urged in their different organisations and to common action being taken so far as possible.

These decisions were preceded by a general discussion on the way towards united action and unity. It was agreed to take united action wherever possible, and to urge united action where it is not at present permitted.

Other Consultations.

Representatives of the Communist Parties of France, Spain, Italy and Austria were invited to meet the Bureau, but did not come. It is fair to the Austrian Party to say that the invitation was sent late for a response to be made.

The Bureau met a representative of the French "Social Front" led by M. Bergery, a Radical Socialist Deputy who has been active in the Anti-War Movement, etc. This organisation has 6,000 members, representing workers, the middle class and intellectuals. The discussion showed a close affinity with the Bureau. The organisation is rapidly moving from a Radical to a Revolutionary Socialist attitude. It was agreed to maintain close contacts.

The Bureau also met representatives of the Communist Right Opposition, including Thaelheimer. Their attitude was that the Communist International is recovering from its mistakes, particularly on the question of Dual Unionism. They justified the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. It is evidently their intention to get back into the Communist International, but their membership is now reported to be weak.

CAMPBELL STEPHEN.

February, 1935. FENNER BROCKWAY.

Appendix 3.

I.L.P. RESOLUTION ON WAR

Adopted by the Enlarged Committee of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Parties.

EVERY day it becomes more evident that the Capitalist powers cannot maintain peaceful relations towards each other. Whilst the difficulty of utilising their capital profitably has led certain countries to establish a more thorough monopoly over their spheres of economic influence, other countries have been driven to extend their economic spheres with greater vehemence. Under either condition National Capitalism can only maintain its profits at the expense of the Capitalism of other countries.

All attempts to reach agreements regarding the division of economic spheres, the distribution of export markets, the manipulation of loans, the stabilisation of rates of exchange, etc., have failed owing to the deep-rooted conflict between the interests of the competing Powers. This failure was most clearly shown by the break-up of the World Economic Conference.

The outcome of this universal commercial and financial war cannot be peace. The economic conflict is reflected in the feverish piling up of armaments and the restless activity of secret diplomacy. The way is being prepared for the conversion of the war of capital and goods into a war of poison gas and guns.

In addition to these antagonisms between the Imperialist Powers a new factor has arisen since the world war in the class antagonism of all Capitalist countries to the Soviet Union. In the long run, these two economic systems, in mortal enmity against each other, cannot live peacefully together. Up to the present their common antagonism to the Soviet Union has tended to prevent an open outbreak of hostilities between the Imperialist countries. At the same time the rivalries between them have tended to prevent the Imperialist countries from finding a basis of unity to attack the Soviet Union. As the crisis of world Capitalism becomes more acute, however, the tendency will be for certain Capitalist powers to be driven to an aggressive imperialist attack on the Soviet Union.

The danger of war has been brought to its highest point by the advance of Fascism. It is the function of Fascism to reconsolidate Capitalist rule, undermined by the economic crisis, by enforcing a Capitalist dictatorship and by crushing all working-class organisations. On this basis it strives to reorganise Capitalism and at the same time to strengthen Imperialist armed power.

But even at its best Fascism can only inadequately remove the immediate difficulties of Capitalism; the experience of Italy, Germany and Austria shows that, despite the attempt to co-ordinate the processes of Capitalism under national control, the poverty of the people increases. The Fascist countries are thus being driven to the alternative of the extension of their economic spheres at the expense of their competitors by Imperialist expansion. And this way means war.

There are two views on war policy within the working-class movement which must be rejected.

The Labour and Socialist International urges that the working class should resist war if it is declared or conducted by a Government contrary to the decisions of the League of Nations, but that the working class should support a war declared or conducted by a Government with the support of the League of Nations.

Revolutionary Socialists must reject this policy. They must expose the League of Nations as an instrument of Imperialism and repudiate its authority to determine the attitude of the working class.

The reformist sections of the working-class movement in certain countries, including the International Federation of Trades Unions, urges that the working class should be ready to support Governments which are "democratic" (even though they are Capitalist) in a war against "Fascist countries."

Revolutionary Socialists must equally reject this policy. War is not waged on account of forms of Government, but in the interest of Capitalist profit.

In addition to these dangerous tendencies in the reformist sections of the working-class movement, Revolutionary Socialists must take into account the new development of the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union. The diplomatic approaches of the Soviet Union to certain Capitalist Powers and its adhesion to the League of Nations must not weaken the resistance of Revolutionary Socialists to the war preparations of the Capitalist countries involved or cause them to modify their exposure of the hypocritical pretensions and dangers of the League. For the

working class the duty of uncompromising opposition to all Capitalist Governments and the Capitalist League of Nations remains undiminished despite the change in policy of the Soviet Union. Should Soviet Russia be the ally of any Capitalist Governments in a future war, it will still be the first duty of the working class to refuse to collaborate with the Capitalist class and win political power and overthrow the Capitalist system in their own countries. In the long run this will be the greatest service to the Soviet Union.

The fight against Imperialist war and its preparation must be carried out by a determined struggle against the Capitalist class under all circumstances. Any policy of conciliation with the Capitalist class, either before war (through concurrence in war budgets) or during a war (through a cessation of the working-class struggle) must be strongly resisted, even if the Capitalist class of any country argue that armaments or war are necessary for defensive purposes. For Revolutionary Socialists there cannot be any difference between "aggressors" and "defenders" engaged in a Capitalist war.

Revolutionary Socialists must recognise that even when hostilities have not been formally declared a state of war exists. The Imperialist powers keep their subject peoples in bondage by armed force. The people of India, for example, are held within the British Empire by the British armed forces. It is the duty of Revolutionary Socialists not only to identify themselves with the demand of colonial peoples for political independence, but to agitate persistently for the withdrawal of the Imperialist armed forces from their territories.

The fight against war demands the following action :—

Before War Is Declared.

(1) Exposure to the masses of the false Pacifist schemes of Capitalist Governments and the League of Nations and of the root cause of war in Capitalist-Imperialism. The intensification of the struggle against Capitalism in all spheres.

(2) Opposition to all war preparations, including refusal to vote the budgets of the armed forces.

(3) The development of united action by all sections of the working class against war preparations.

(4) The creation of a mass demand for the withdrawal of Imperialist armed forces from colonial territories, leading to the refusal to handle munitions for Imperialist purposes.

(5) The penetration of the armed forces with Socialist and anti-militaristic propaganda, and the creation of a sense of solidarity with the workers through support given to the members of the armed forces regarding their grievances.

(6) The furtherance of international working-class action against war by bringing together all sections of the working class which are prepared to resist Capitalist war, and the co-ordination of their activities through an International centre.

(7) The declaration of a General Strike when war is threatened and before nationalist passion has been created by the actual outbreak of hostilities. If international co-ordination has been secured, the General Strike should take place simultaneously across the frontiers.

When War Is Declared.

(1) The objective must be massed resistance to the war, the overthrow of the Capitalist Governments and the Capitalist class, the seizure of political power in the Capitalist States, the ending of war by Social Revolution.

(2) In each country the methods used must be such as the masses are prepared to follow. Whilst everything should be done to mobilise the working class internationally, it should be recognised that when war passion has been aroused a General Strike may be impracticable and can only follow a growing revolutionary agitation arising out of the circumstances of the war.

(3) Revolutionary propaganda must be carried on by all available means, not only within the civil population but among the troops.

(4) Support must be given to all agitations against the Capitalist class ; in particular, wage struggles, revolts against rising prices or shortage of food, and opposition to military dictatorship. Such agitations must be prepared, organised and led towards the end of the seizure of power.

(5) The intensification of class antagonism in the army and the encouragement of all movements to gain soldiers' rights, including the establishment of representative bodies of soldiers leading up to the formation of Soldiers' Councils.

(6) The stimulation of international consciousness in the working class, both at the front and at home, by, for example, fraternisation between soldiers of the two sides, and of the military and civil population with prisoners.

(7) The formation of Workers' Councils at home to represent all sections of the working class, first in expressing their immediate grievances and their demands for rights and control at their places of work, including the munition works ; and, second, in becoming the instrument for the seizure of power in conjunction with the Soldiers' Councils.

It must be recognised when facing the problem of the organisation of a revolutionary struggle against Imperialist war, that the effect of a future war on the masses will be much severer and closer than in the world war. The civil population at home will suffer direct attack from the air, the front line will no longer be isolated from the masses of the people, and war production in the factories and workshops will assume a far greater importance. These conditions will allow revolutionary anti-war propaganda to be carried on much more quickly and effectively, and the working class itself will become a much stronger social factor of immediate importance.

For a successful struggle against Imperialist war and for the protection of the Soviet Union it is necessary to unite internationally all revolutionary Socialist forces. The working-class movement is now split into three divisions—those attached to the Second and Third Internationals and those unassociated with either. To overcome these divisions Revolutionary Socialists must do all in their power to secure immediate united action against war by all sections of the working masses.

Appendix 4.

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON DUAL UNIONISM

THE instruction of the N.A.C. to the sub-committee was to consider the problem of Dual Unionism with special reference to the situation that has developed in the Scottish coalfields. Complete agreement was not reached, but the following statement is presented as a basis subject to further amendment :—

MSH 28163

1. The I.L.P. is opposed to the principle of Dual Unionism and expects all its members to work for one united militant Trade Union in whatever industries they may be engaged in.

2. In the Scottish mining areas, where Dual Unions are already in existence, with a view towards furthering one united Mineworkers' Union the policy recommended to the N.A.C. is as follows :—

3. Where members of the I.L.P. are at present members of the Scottish Mineworkers' Union they are advised to remain in that Union working for (a) The immediate removal of the political ban operating against members of the S.M.U. who are nominated for office within the Union but are not members of the Labour Party ; (b) A unity conference of the S.M.U. and U.M.S. with the object of amalgamating the two Unions ; (c) A militant fighting policy on all industrial issues that arise.

4. In such districts where members of the I.L.P. consider they can best work for (a), (b) and (c) by retaining their membership of the U.M.S., the I.L.P. places no ban on such membership provided it is clearly laid down that the I.L.P. does not countenance the principle of Dual Unionism, regards the present situation in the Scottish mining districts as a transition stage, and requires that all I.L.P. members work vigorously to end the present position and establish one Union.

5. I.L.P. members belonging to other sections of the M.F.G.B. are asked to agitate within their own areas to have the issue raised at the Miners' national conference.

JENNIE LEE.
ALEX SMILLIE.
TOM STEPHENSON.

December, 1934.

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TITLE